

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

INR-05 INRE-00 PRS-01 EB-03 SAM-01 SAB-01 SP-02 L-01

CIAE-00 SAJ-01 PM-03 DODE-00 SCCT-01 IGA-01 RSC-01

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O R 041320Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4459

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 6347

LIMDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS, XF

SUBJ: ISRAEL--ON EVE OF SECRETARY'S VISIT

1. SUMMARY. ISRAELI LEADERSHIP AND PRESS IS EXCLUSIVELY
PREOCCUPIED WITH A) IMPLICATIONS OF RABAT SUMMIT CONFERENCE
AND B) NATION'S ECONOMIC CRISIS. ISRAELIS
UNANIMOUSLY AGREE THAT RABAT DECISION TO RECOGNIZE PLO AS
SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF PALESTINIANS HAS HURT PROSPECTS FOR
MAINTAINING NEGOTIATING MOMENTUM AND HAS INCREASED RISK
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OF WAR. AS REGARDS POSSIBLE NEXT STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH

EGYPT, ISRAELIS CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT ANY FURTHER WITHDRAWAL MUST BE MATCHED BY EGYPTIAN POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. ON DOMESTIC SCENE, ISRAELIS ARE PREPARING FOR MAJOR NEW ECONOMIC BELT-TIGHTENING PROGRAM IN EFFORT TO CONTROL CONTINUING HIGH INFLATION RATE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE DRAIN. GOI IS LOOKING TO CONTINUING MASSIVE US ASSISTANCE TO HELP SOLVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WITHOUT SACRIFICING ITS MILITARY REQUIREMENTS. MOST ISRAELIS VIEW FORMATION OF ENLARGED COALITION, INCLUDING NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY, AS ONLY POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT OF RECENT DAYS, PROVIDING RABIN WITH FIRMER BASE TO CONFRONT CRUCIAL DECISIONS WHICH LIE AHEAD ON INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL SCENE. END SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL ATMOSPHERE IN ISRAEL IS COMPOUNDS OF UNCERTAINTY AND PESSIMISM ABOUT IMPLICATIONS OF RABAT SUMMIT CONFERENCE'S DECISION TO RECOGNIZE PLO AS SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL PALESTINIANS, FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT WAR PROSPECT HAS INCREASED, AND THAT AT BEST NEGOTIATING PROCESS WILL BE CONSIDERABLY SLOWER AND MORE DIFFICULT THAN IT HAS BEEN SO FAR. ISRAELIS ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO WHAT THEY PERCEIVE AS MILITANCY AND ARROGANCE OF ARAB WORLD, INCLUDING SO-CALLED MODERATES, IN SUPPORTING PLO WHICH IN ISRAELI EYES IS INTENT UPON DESTRUCTION OF STATE OF ISRAEL.

3. PRIME MINISTER RABIN, IN ANTICIPATION OF MAJOR ADDRESS TO KNESSET THIS WEEK, HAS ALREADY OUTLINED ISRAELI PERCEPTION OF SITUATION BY NOTING THAT HE NO LONGER IS CERTAIN THAT EGYPT IS PREPARED TO CONTINUE SEPARATE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND THAT THERE NOW ARE GRAVE DOUBTS AS TO JORDAN'S ROLE IN MONTHS AHEAD. RABIN AND ALLON HAVE BOTH STATED FORCEFULLY THAT, IF HUSSEIN INDEED IS NO LONGER VIABLE NEGOTIATING PARTNER, THERE IS NO ONE FOR ISRAEL TO TALK TO ABOUT POLITICAL SETTLEMENT RE ISRAEL'S EASTERN FRONT.

4. EGYPT. ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT SECRETARY WILL FOCUS HIS EFFORTS ON TRYING TO SUSTAIN MOMENTUM OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR SECOND STAGE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. DESPITE SADAT'S SUPPORT FOR PLO, WHICH IS OF COURSE DEEPLY RESENTED HERE, ISRAELIS HOLD THAT EGYPT AT PRESENT APPARENTLY CONSTITUTES SOLE

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NEGOTIATING PARTNER LEFT. THEY ALSO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT SADAT WILL NOW BE MORE CONTENTIOUS AND INTRANSIGENT. ISRAELIS ARE CONCERNED THAT SADAT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT SEE NEXT INTERIM STAGE AS A SIGNIFICANT STEP TOWARDS FINAL POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BUT RATHER A "MOVE FORWARD" ON THE GROUND IN PROCESS OF LIBERATING ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND RESTORING RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS. FOR THEIR PART, ISRAELIS REMAIN ADAMANT THAT ANY NEXT PHASE WITH EGYPT MUST INCLUDE

EGYPTIAN POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. WHETHER IN THIS PERSPECTIVE IT REMAINS WORTHWHILE FOR GOI TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SADAT WILL DOUBTLESS BE SUBJECT OF EXTENSIVE COMMENTARY AND ANALYSIS IN ISRAELI PRESS IN WEEKS AHEAD.

5. JORDAN. WHILE RABIN HIMSELF (AND OTHER SENIOR GOI LEADERS) HAVE INTENTIONALLY REFRAINED FROM DRAWING ANY FINAL CONCLUSIONS ABOUT IMPLICATIONS OF RABAT CONFERENCE FOR HUSSEIN, ISRAELI PRESS IS VIRTUALLY UNANIMOUS IN JUDGMENT THAT FOR TIME BEING HUSSEIN IS NO LONGER INTERLOCUTOR FOR NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING DISPOSITION OF WEST BANK. MOREOVER, IT IS NOW DOMINANT ISRAELI JUDGMENT, AS IT WAS NOT JUST TWO WEEKS AGO, THAT ANY NEGOTIATION WITH HUSSEIN RE WEST BANK WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN INDIRECT MECHANISM FOR MAKING TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS TO PLO.

6. ISRAELIS DRAW TWO CONFLICTING CONCLUSIONS FROM THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS FOR LIKELIHOOD OF HUSSEIN'S PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE FUTURE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR. ONE VIEW IS THAT HUSSEIN NOW CAN MORE EASILY STAY OUT OF CONFRONTATION THAN BEFORE, SINCE ARABS THEMSELVES HAVE WRITTEN HIM OFF, WHILE OTHERS ARGUE THAT ONLY BY JOINING WITH SYRIA IN NEW WAR COULD HUSSEIN HOPE TO REGAIN SOME OF WEST BANK. ISRAELIS ARE ALSO DIVIDED ON QUESTION AS TO WHETHER PASSAGE OF TIME, AND ISRAELI RESOLUTENESS IN REFUSING TO DEAL WITH PLO, MIGHT ESTORE HUSSEIN TO STATUS OF NEGOTIATING PARTNER IN ARAB EYES.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY'S PARTY.

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ACTION NEA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-08 SSO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

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CIAE-00 SAJ-01 PM-03 DODE-00 SCCT-01 IGA-01 RSC-01

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O R 041320Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4460
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DEPARTMENT PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

7. PLO AND US MIDEAST POLICY. ISRAELIS(WITH EXCEPTION OF MINISCULE COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS) ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT GOI SHOULD NOT DEAL WITH PLO, WHICH IS REGARDED HERE AS TERRORIST ORGANIZATION WHOSE PRINCIPLE OBJECTIVE IS DESTRUCTION OF STATE OF ISRAEL, EVEN IF THIS GOAL IS COVERED BY EUPHEMISM OF CREATION OF DEMOCRATIC-SECULAR PALESTINIAN STATE. GIVEN THIS VIEW, ISRAELI PRESS HAS ALREADY RAISED QUESTION OF HOW GOI SHOULD RESPOND IF US ASKS FOR RE-CONSIDERATION OF ISRAEL'S STATED REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH PLO. EVEN MODERATES WHO SUPPORT PRINCIPLE OF MAJOR TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN CONFIDENTIAL

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RETURN FOR PEACE BELIEVE THAT GOI SHOULD RESIST SUCH EFFORTS.

8. PROSPECTS OF WAR. MAIN THEME OF ISRAELI COMMENTATORS THIS WEEK HAS BEEN THAT RABAT CONFERENCE HAS HEIGHTENED LIKELIHOOD OF NEW WAR IN MONTHS AHEAD. ISRAELIS SEE ARABS AS WILLING TO RISK WAR IF POLITICAL PROCESS COLLAPSES. UN VOTE ON PLO, ARAB PERCEPTION OF SUCCESS OF 1973 WAR TO PROMOTE THEIR OBJECTIVES , AND DECISIONS OF RABAT CONFERENCE ARE SEEN AS CREATING NEW MEMENTUM TOWARD WAR IN ARAB WORLD. PRIVATELY, MANY ISRAELIS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT RENEWAL OF WAR IS ALSO VALID ISRAELI OPTION, IDF LEADERSHIP APPARENTLY BELIEVES THAT, GIVEN PRESENT GAP BETWEEN STATE OF PREPAREDNESS AND REARMAMENT OF ARABS AND ISRAELIS, IT IS IN ISRAEL'S INTEREST FOR WAR, IF IT HAS TO COME, TO OCCUR EARLIER RATHER THAN LATER. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT HAARETZ'S DISTINGUISHED MILITARY CORRESPONDENT HAS CONCLUDED LENGHTLY SERIES THIS WEEK ON NEXT WAR BY RAISING ISSUE FOR GENERAL PUBLIC OF WHAT ARAB ACTIONS WOULD CONSTITUTE CAUSUS BELLI.

9. ISRAELI ECONOMIC SITUATION WORSENS. IN ADDITION TO THESE CONCERNS IN INTERNATIONAL AREANA, ISRAEL ALSO IS CONFRONTED BY ONE OF MOST SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISES EVER IN ITS HISTORY . GOI IS EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE NEW SERIES OF BELT-TIGHTENING MEASURES IN LATEST EFFORT TO COPWHYNOJDVXRMBIDYKAELGIEQZNOMY. # MAJOR CONCERN AT PRESENT IS EROSION OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES, AS ISRAEL CONTINUES TO SUFFER MOUNTING TRADE GAP AND HIGH INFLATION RATE(ABOUT 33PERCENT IN 1974). PUBIGVAQUDENCE # HAS BEEN SHAKEN BY RECENT BANKING AND FINANCIAL SCANDALS. THESE BANK FAILURES HAVE BEEN ACUTELY EMBARRASSING TO GOVERNMENT AND TO ISRAEL'S SUPPORTERS AROUND THE WORLD, AND COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT FLOW OF BADLY NEEDED FOREIGN INVESTMENT. AS SECURITY AND IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION REMAIN HIGH PRIORITIES, GOI PROBABLY WILL MAKE NEW EFFORT TO BRING ECONOMY BETTER UNDER CONTROL THROUGH MEASURES DESIGNED TO LIMIT IMPORTS, REDUCE GOVERNMENT SERVICES AND REDUCE CONSUMPTION IN PRIVATE SECTOR. REAL QUEZXSIWZMTELLEIFMXPBQMJ#IS WHETHER RABIN GOVERNMENT WILL FEEL SUFFICIENTLY STRONG TO IMPOSE NECESSARY THOUGH PAINFUL AUSTERITY PROGRAM ON POPULATION. GOI NOT RPT NOT CONSIDERING SCALING DOWN OF ITS ENORMOUS MILITARY REQUIREMENTS
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AS RESULT OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. GOI OBVIOUSLY HOPES DOMESTIC ECONOMIC MEASURES PLUS MASSIVE US GRANT ASSISTANCE WILL SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS WITHOUT ADVERSELY AFFECTING ITS ARMAMENT PLANS.

10. AMIDST THESE DIFFICULTIES, FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT COALITION OCTOBER 30, BRINGING NRP BACK TO FOLD AFTER FIVE MONTHS IN OPPOSTION, IS GENERALLY REGARDED HERE AS POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. MOST ISRAELI OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT RABIN NOW HAS SIGNIFICANTLY MORE STABLE GOVERNMENT TEAM, NOT ONLY IN NUMERICAL SENSE, BUT AS EMBODIMENT OF MAINSTREAMS OF ISRAELI SOCIETY. LIKUD OPPOSTION FOR TIME BEING IS IN RELATIVELY ISOLATED AND STERILE POSITION. ONE OBSERVER HAS CHARACTERIZED NEW COALITION, REPEATING FORMUAL OF MEIR GOVERNMENTS, AS NEW MINI NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT.

11. SIGN OF TIMES IS THAT ISRAELI COMMENTATORS ARE BEGINNING TO SPECULATE RE-RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POSSIBLE NEW AREAND FUTURE RABIN GOVERNEMENT. IF WAR PROPSECT APPROACHES MORE CLOSELY, SOME ISRAELIS EVEN BELIEVE THAT RABIN MAY BRING LIKUD INTO FULL FLEDGED NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT. OTHERS BELIEVE RABIN WOULD NOT RPT NOT INVITE LIKUD IN AND AS RESULT EMERGE FROMWAR(OBVIOUSLY VICTORIOUS) IN MUCH STRENGTHENED POSITION.
KEATING

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED SECRETARY'S PARTY.

NOTE BY OC/T: SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 6347; #PARA. 9.

AS RECEIVED. CORRECTIONS TO FOLLOW.

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